

trying to squelch opposition in Congress—fed by such foreign policy luminaries as Henry Kissinger—to sending 4,000 U.S. troops to Kosovo in a new peacekeeping mission.

Two days before peace talks resumed between the Serb forces occupying Kosovo and the rebel forces who claim to speak for the 90 percent Albanian population of the province, bombs planted by unknown persons killed at least seven people—a reminder of how far from peace Kosovo is.

During House debate, the question repeatedly raised was what assurance the administration could give that once the troops were sent into Kosovo, they would ever be able to get out. The response was that without NATO troops on the ground, the killing would go on, and without U.S. participation, our European NATO allies would not go it alone.

This was the latest manifestation of what might be called the Wilsonian conundrum. It was Woodrow Wilson, in the aftermath of World War I, who most boldly asserted the doctrine that the United States would not only use its might to protect its national interests against any external threats but would aid the struggle for democracy, freedom and self-determination of oppressed people wherever it was being fought.

Wilson's ambitions were almost instantly repudiated by the Senate in the debate over the League of Nations, but his ideas have influenced almost all his successors from FDR through Clinton. Under the slogans of human rights, liberation of captive nations or peacekeeping, they have tried—with only intermittent success—to lift American foreign policy beyond the crass calculations of power politics and into the exalted realm of morality and justice.

What we have learned, I think, is that all those good values cannot be imposed at the point of a gun—even if the gun is held by an American soldier who wants nothing in return but a safe trip back home.

Peace cannot be built unless and until the warring parties have exhausted themselves with bloodshed and are ready to take the responsibility on themselves to turn a new page. No better example can be found this Saint Patrick's Day than Northern Ireland, where decades of sectarian violence blessedly have given way to a shaky peace.

The United States, led personally by Clinton, played an honorable and vital role in bringing about that change. But it did so at the conference table, using diplomats, not troops.

The lesson is not that we should never be peacekeepers; rather, that there has to be a peace to keep. Sending in the military to impose a peace on people who have not settled ancient quarrels has to be the last resort, not the standard way of doing business.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, in view of the posture taken by the other side of the aisle, as I understand it, we will not take up any other amendments until we dispose of this amendment, which I understand. I will pursue the closing arrangement for the Senate so that we might put Senators on notice that there will be no other amendments considered today and that we will close.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to a period for morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Monday, March 19, 1999, the federal debt stood at \$5,640,185,158,295.15 (Five trillion, six hundred forty billion, one hundred eighty-five million, one hundred fifty-eight thousand, two hundred ninety-five dollars and fifteen cents).

One year ago, March 19, 1998, the federal debt stood at \$5,537,630,000,000 (Five trillion, five hundred thirty-seven billion, six hundred thirty million).

Fifteen years ago, March 19, 1984, the federal debt stood at \$1,465,615,000,000 (One trillion, four hundred sixty-five billion, six hundred fifteen million).

Twenty-five years ago, March 19, 1974, the federal debt stood at \$471,306,000,000 (Four hundred seventy-one billion, three hundred six million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion—\$5,168,879,158,295.15 (Five trillion, one hundred sixty-eight billion, eight hundred seventy-nine million, one hundred fifty-eight thousand, two hundred ninety-five dollars and fifteen cents) during the past 25 years.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-2241. A communication from the Managing Director for Administration, Overseas Private Investment Corporation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Production of Nonpublic Records and Testimony of OPIC Employees in Legal Proceedings" (RIN3420-AA02) received on March 8, 1999; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-2242. A communication from the General Counsel, Executive Office for Immigration Review, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Motion to Reopen: Suspension of Deportation and Cancellation of Removal" (RIN1125-AA23) received on March 16, 1999; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EC-2243. A communication from the Director of the Policy Directives and Instructions Branch, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Exceptions to the Educational Requirements for Naturalization for Certain Applicants" (RIN115-AE02) received on February 22, 1999; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EC-2244. A communication from the Director of the Office of Government Ethics, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Standards of Ethical Conduct for Employees of the Executive Branch" (RIN3209-AA04) received on March 12, 1999; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-2245. A communication from the Director of the Division of Commissioned Personnel, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Department's report on the Public Health Service Commissioned Corps Retirement System for fiscal year 1997; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-2246. A communication from the Executive Director of the Committee for Purchase

From People Who Are Blind or Severely Disabled, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of additions to and deletions from the Committee's Procurement List dated March 3, 1999; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-2247. A communication from the Chair of the Medicare Payment Advisory Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Commission's report on the Secretary of Health and Human Services' report concerning the development and implementation of a Medicare prospective payment system for home health agencies; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2248. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Branch, U.S. Customs Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Technical Amendment to the Customs Regulations" (T.D. 99-24) received on March 4, 1999; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2249. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Branch, U.S. Customs Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Technical Corrections Regarding Customs Organization" (T.D. 99-27) received on March 4, 1999; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2250. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Determination of Interest Rate" (Rev. Rul. 99-16) received on March 15, 1999; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2251. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Congressional Review of Market Segment Specialization Program Audit Techniques Guides" received on March 12, 1999; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2252. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Oshkosh Truck Corporation v. United States" (Fed. Cir. 1997) received on March 12, 1999; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2253. A communication from the Deputy Executive Director and Chief Operating Officer of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Allocation of Assets in Single-Employer Plans; Interest Assumptions for Valuing Benefits" received on March 9, 1999; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-2254. A communication from the Director of the Regulations Policy and Management Staff, Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Indirect Food Additives: Polymers" (Docket 97F-0412) received on March 16, 1999; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-2255. A communication from the Director of the Regulations Policy and Management Staff, Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Protection of Human Subjects; Informed Consent; Technical Amendment" (RIN0910-AA60) received on March 16, 1999; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

EC-2256. A communication from the Director of the Regulations Policy and Management Staff, Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Ear, Nose, and Throat Devices; Classification of the Nasal Dilator, the Intranasal Splint, and the Bone Particle Collector" (RIN98N-0249) received on March 16,